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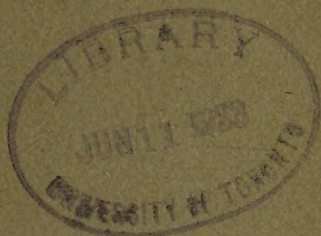
What Is the City-Manager Plan?

(REVISED)

BY

Herman G. James, J. D., Ph. D.

Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and
Reference, University of Texas



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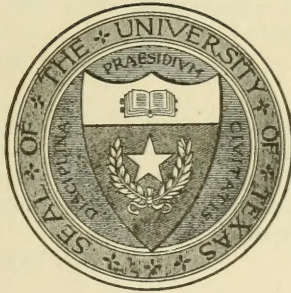
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The benefits of education and of useful knowledge, generally diffused through a community, are essential to the preservation of a free government.

Sam Houston.

Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. . . . It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge and the only security that freemen desire.

Mirabeau B. Lamar.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The phenomenal increase of interest in the new form of city government known as the city manager plan, in the time since the first edition of this bulletin was published, a year ago, is perhaps reflected in the ever increasing number of requests for copies of the bulletin, which have exhausted the original printing and made necessary a new edition.

The bulletin was prepared to meet the demand for knowledge concerning the new plan of government, its advantages and disadvantages, especially as compared with commission government, and the advisability of adopting it when charter changes are contemplated. The intent was to answer the most important questions that arise in connection with the city-manager plan and to show its relation to what has gone before. Though much new material dealing with the subject has appeared in the past year, the plan adopted in the first edition has been retained without change.

The new material, some of which is incorporated in the revised bibliography (Appendix II) ranges all the way from articles in popular periodicals to reports of careful scientific investigations. Perhaps the most valuable additions to the literature of the subject are reports of actual accomplishments of the city-manager plan in operation, a phase of the subject which a year ago offered very little opportunity for discussion. It must be pointed out, however, that much of the latter material comes from the city managers themselves and perhaps ought, therefore, to be taken with a grain of salt.

The list of city-manager cities (Appendix I) has been brought up to date. The remarkable spread of the city-manager plan in the short space of a year shows perhaps more clearly than

anything else the wide appeal which this latest experiment in American municipal government is making; especially when it is remembered that in a majority of the states the cities are not yet empowered to choose for themselves the form of government under which they wish to operate.

A page of charts has been added, showing the principle of organization of the commission-manager plan and the cities that have adopted it.

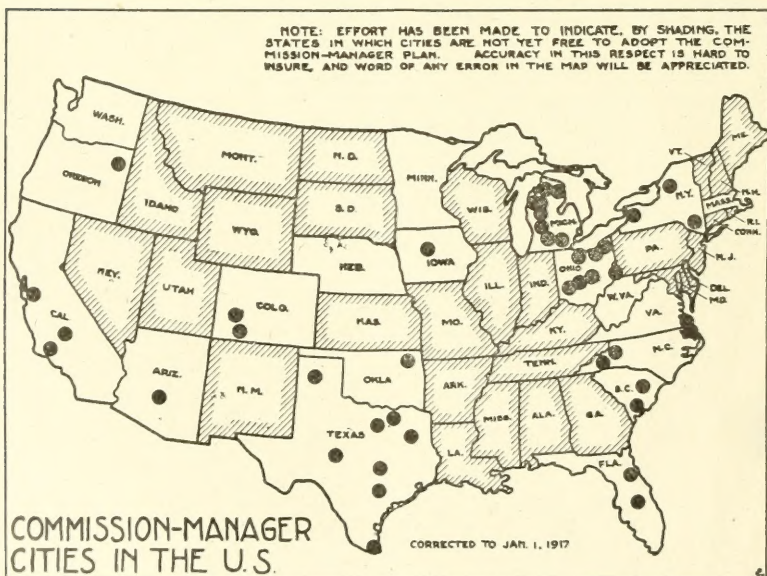
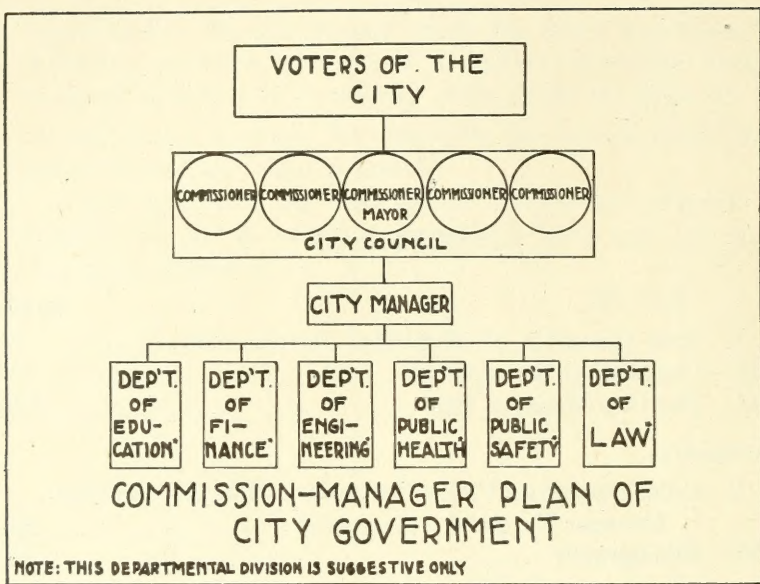
H. G. J.

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What Is the City-Manager Plan?

I. TWO CENTURIES OF MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT

To understand the full significance of the newest development of American municipal government, it is necessary to know something of the history of that government in the past and to see in what relation this latest phase of development stands to what has gone before. For this purpose we may conveniently divide American municipal history into three main though quite unequal periods. The first extends from the beginning of American cities in Colonial days to the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. The second covers roughly the period of the Nineteenth Century. The third extends from 1900 to the present time, marking the origin and first extension of commission government and the city-manager plan. It is needless to say that these periods are not in all particulars clearly defined or determined as separate entities, and, indeed, from some points of view these time divisions will be found to be largely arbitrary. But with regard to the matter of principal interest here, namely the relation of the city-manager plan to what has preceded it, we may accept the division here adopted as a working basis.

Colonial Municipal Government. The earliest period of city government showed, as might be expected, a virtual reproduction in the colonies of the framework of government found in the cities of the mother country, England. The larger colonial cities were public corporations with certain implied rights resulting from their nature as corporations, but otherwise possessing only such rights as were granted by the charter. This char-

ter or instrument of incorporation was granted in the colonies, as in England, by the Executive, that is by the Colonial Governor. It provided a framework of government essentially similar in the score or so of incorporated boroughs or cities existing in the colonies. The governing body was a council elected by the voters under a suffrage very considerably limited by taxpaying, property, or other qualifications. This council was endowed with all the powers of local government that were granted at that time to the cities and there was no independent executive. There was a Mayor, it is true, but like the English prototype, he was not a separate governmental organ, but merely a member of the council, whether chosen by it or, as was quite frequent, appointed by the Governor. He enjoyed, it is true, some judicial powers, alone or together with the Aldermen, who were also members of the council, just the same as the so-called councillors. There was almost no administration to speak of in those early days, but what there was was conducted as in England, by committees of the council. The striking thing, therefore, about the colonial system of municipal government was the union of all the powers in a single-chambered body. It may be remarked here that while American municipal development from that time on has been marked with continual change and experimentation in the organization of city government, in England today the framework of city government is virtually the same as that in the colonial municipalities described above.

The Nineteenth Century. The beginning of the Nineteenth Century saw a development under way in American cities which was soon consummated, and which established the broad underlying principle that characterized the next hundred years of municipal history in this country. The development was the imitation of and incorporation into city government of the principle of separate and independent legislative and executive branches of government. This principle had been incorporated into our State and National governments when they were created as new and independent political entities, largely through

the influence of Montesquieu's political philosophy on the American statesmen of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary period. It was later woven into the framework of municipal government apparently in mere imitation of the Federal plan, not because of dissatisfaction with the results of the existing form of municipal government.

It is necessary to dwell here somewhat at length on this change in the plan of city government in this country, for not only was it determinative of the fundamental character of our municipal framework for the next hundred years, but it also has an intimate connection with the most recent changes in that framework known as commission government and the commission-manager plan. What, now, was the argument in favor of the doctrine of creating separate and independent branches of the government as exemplified in our State and National systems? It was to provide a system of checks and balances between the departments which would safeguard the citizens against encroachment or usurpation of power by one or the other of the departments of government as against the others. A union of legislative and executive powers was considered productive of tyranny. It was of course perfectly clear even then that the system of checks and balances must result in delay, friction, and diffusion of responsibility, but it was thought that the protection of the individual and the State against tyranny and oppression were the considerations of prime importance.

So we had a bicameral Congress and an independently elected President with the power of recommending legislation and vetoing the measures of which he did not approve. In our cities then, in imitation, we came to have a Council, in some cases even a bicameral one, and an independently elected Mayor with a power of recommending and of vetoing legislation. Of course this plan for cities was bound to have the disadvantages mentioned above in connection with its operation in the Federal and State governments, and subsequent municipal history has shown that these disadvantages were by no means purely theoretical. But what of the alleged advantages? Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that the liberties of the individual

demanded, or at least were well served by, the system of checks and balances in the Federal Government, where no other protection existed. What need of such a cumbersome weapon of defense against the municipality, all of whose powers were limited positively by the will of the State Legislature, which was absolutely supreme, and negatively by the State and Federal Constitutions? There are no liberties of the individual which are not adequately protected in these other ways, and our system of checks and balances in the city carried with it, therefore, only disadvantages and no advantages. And yet, in spite of that fact, for a hundred years there was no attempt, amid all the experimentation that occurred to remedy the evil conditions that gradually grew up in the government of American cities, to discard this unjustifiable engrafting of a Federal growth on the municipal plant.

While the separation of the executive and legislative powers became and remained the keynote of American municipal organization during this period of the Nineteenth Century, there were many other developments of minor, though not at all of mean, importance in our municipal history. Most significant of all, perhaps, was the increase of elective officers as an expression of the wave of democracy that swept over this country in the latter part of the first half of the century. Democracy, it was thought, meant the general election of officers by the people under an ever widened suffrage, and the more officers there were elected the more there was supposed to be of democracy. That this movement for electing all possible and impossible officers in the government lost sight of the important distinction between representative officers who determine policies and administrative officers who merely carry out the law as passed, and that it further failed to see that a multitude of elective offices inevitably confuses the electorate and tends to defeat their will, did not prevent its development during a long period of years. Indeed it may be said that ignorance of these two defects in the system of electing too many officers is still so widespread as to need continual effort for its elimination. But at least a beginning had been made

in refuting that fallacious theory even before the period we are now considering was passed.

Equally unfortunate, though perhaps somewhat easier of refutation, was another doctrine that grew up about the same time as the one just considered, and that was the one underlying the spoils system. Not only were as many officers as possible to be elected, but those that were not so elected should give up their offices whenever a new party or faction gained control of the government. This, of course, again confused political with non-political officers and made it impossible to secure in the administrative offices any efficiency resulting from experience, there being at the same time almost no qualification for appointment to office except political allegiance. The first successful attempts to combat this system were made in the domain of the Federal Government in the last two decades of the Nineteenth Century and from there the movement for civil service reform and the merit system spread to the states and cities. Though much remains to be done in this direction (in fact, as regards cities it may be said that scarcely a good beginning has even yet been made), nevertheless a realization of the evil effects of the spoils system may be said to have become somewhat general during the period of municipal development we are now considering.

The closing years of this century were marked by a tendency to concentrate administrative powers and responsibility in the hands of the Mayor and to increase his importance, both at the expense of the Council and by making many administrative authorities which were formerly elective appointive by him. This was a very beneficial development, but nothing even in the closing years of the period gave any promise of a departure from the century-old shibboleth of separation of powers and checks and balances.

The Twentieth Century. The opening of the Twentieth Century was marked by the birth of the new form of city government now known far and wide as the commission form of government. The circumstances attending the adoption of this plan in the city of its origin, Galveston, Texas, are too well

known to require rehearsal here. The old-style city government there had been inefficient for years, though no worse than in hundreds of other cities in the country. The catastrophe that swept the city in the shape of the destructive storm and flood simply created conditions which were absolutely beyond the capacity of the existing government to handle. In the ordinary course of events the city government would have gone on managing the routine business of the city in its accustomed inefficient and extravagant way, and the citizens, with that political fatalism characteristic of city electorates in this country, would have consented to the waste and diversion of their taxes there, as they did then and do today in many and many another city in the United States. But the great storm threatened the absolute destruction of the city in a financial and legal as well as a physical way unless heroic measures were adopted and adopted at once. The indispensable need was for an executive body with virtually unlimited powers to take charge of the city's affairs until order could be restored.

That in such emergency and for such purposes a system of checks and balances in the governing authority was absolutely out of the question was of course self-evident to the men who undertook to bring order out of chaos in Galveston. Similar methods had been found necessary years before to restore order in Memphis when the yellow fever epidemic had paralyzed the ordinary organs of government there. The lasting service that was rendered in Galveston was the recognition that the principles underlying the government that proved effective in emergencies were sound ones for the government in ordinary times as well and that a city could be governed, and well governed, under a system which, marvelous to relate, discarded the sacred principles of the separation of powers. Here, then, after more than a hundred years, the circle had been completed and the single all-powerful governing body for cities which had to be discarded soon after the establishment of the Federal Government again came into its own. The old charm of checks and balances in government had been broken, and city after city, realizing the new freedom that came with this disillusionment, cast off the fetters of tradition and conservatism.

II. COMMISSION GOVERNMENT

The outstanding characteristic of commission government, as first applied in Galveston and later adopted by other cities, the feature which distinguished it absolutely from what had gone before in American municipal government, was, then, as has been seen, the substitution of a single body possessing all the local legislative and executive powers, for the dualism of the former plan with its Council on the one hand and independent Mayor on the other. But there are other features of commission government which are of importance, and some of which must be considered before the relation between the commission government and the city-manager plan can be understood.

So many variations of commission government have arisen and the name has been applied to so many different manifestations of municipal government in the last few years that it is not possible to make statements concerning this new form which will hold true for all cities that may be classed as commission governed. But certain important features are found in so large a number of these cities that they may properly be spoken of as characteristic of the class as a whole.

Considering first those features of commission government which seem to be desirable and valuable for any form of city government, we may begin by mentioning the non-partisan primaries and elections found in many of the commission cities. It has long been recognized that a large part of the political corruption found in American cities was due directly or indirectly to the fact that city politics were controlled by state and national machines. This resulted in the subordination of the interests of the city to the welfare of the party organization in state and nation, to the ignoring of local issues as factors in

municipal campaigns, and, worst of all, to the exploitation of the city with its large patronage for the benefit of a boss or a ring—who recognized no responsibility save to superiors in the larger party organization. It came gradually to be realized, therefore, that to eliminate the domination of local politics by a machine and to encourage independent candidates it would be necessary to diminish as far as possible the advantage enjoyed by a regular party nominee. For this purpose the non-partisan primary and election were believed to be the most effective means. Candidates, therefore, are under this system nominated or elected, as the case may be, on ballots which bear no party designation, and a place on which may be obtained by the mere filing of a petition signed by a small number of electors.

A second desirable change introduced with commission government and almost invariably found in all commission charters is the substitution of election at large for election by wards. That is, the commissioners are chosen in the city as a whole instead of from smaller election districts. The evils of the system of ward election in this country were also by no means unknown when commission government first began. One of the worst words in our political vocabulary had long since been the designation “ward politician” as embodying all that is small and contemptible and mean in municipal political life. The representatives from each city ward were primarily engaged, like their prototypes, the Representatives in Congress, in securing for their respective wards a good share of the political pie and pork barrel, and the log-rolling tactics of the councils in some of our American cities would have put even that past master in the art, the national House of Representatives, to shame had they been compared. In the national legislature congressional districts are inevitable, and we shall have to wait on the slow process of public education for improvement in the direction of larger-minded representatives. But in our cities, with a few exceptions in the case of some of the largest ones, neither necessity nor desirability requires representation by

districts. The city is essentially a unit in its needs, and plans for meeting those needs should be the result of considering the interests of the city as a whole, not the resultant of all the ward forces pulling in different directions. The location of public buildings, the laying out of parks, the paving of streets, and all other activities of the city in the matter of public improvements must be determined on a large basis. The councilman whose re-election depends on his getting a school building or a park or a fountain for his ward is not capable of looking at such questions in a large way. And so we find that one of the most satisfactory accomplishments of commission government has been the elimination of ward politics to a very considerable extent.

Third, we find that commission government is credited with the reduction of the size of council, at least in cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more. Our city councils have not only in a number of cases been two-chambered, which in the case of city legislatures is utterly indefensible, but in most of the larger cities they have been too large in membership. In commission-governed cities the representative body is usually composed of five members, and these small bodies have been found in practice to be as representative as were the larger councils which they replaced, if not indeed more so. For cities of more than a quarter of a million population a gradually increasing council might prove desirable, provided it still remain distinctly smaller than any of the councils now usually found in our largest cities. Perhaps fifteen to twenty-five might be regarded as including the uppermost limit, no matter how large the city. Individual responsibility of representatives increases inversely with the size of the representative body. The smaller the body the greater individual responsibility.

Fourth, we find an element of popular control present in commission charters which was and is almost wholly lacking in charters of the old form. Reference is here had to the modern devices known as the initiative, referendum and recall. The first gives the voters a chance to compel the enactment of legislation they may desire, even against the wish of the council or

commission. The second enables the voters to reject undesired legislation which the representative body may wish to impose upon them. The third enables the voters to put out of office a representative before the end of his term if he proves unworthy of his office. These measures are intended in commission cities as weapons of defense to offset the concentration of large powers in the hands of a relatively small body of men; but viewed in their proper light they would prove just as valuable under the old form of government, indeed probably more so. These devices of popular control have been imported into this country from Switzerland in response to a growing recognition of the fact that our so-called representative government was not truly representative, and it was thought that these devices would help to make it so. The true light in which to regard them is, therefore, that of emergency measures to be invoked on extraordinary occasions only and not on slight provocation. For that reason the percentage of voters' signatures required to a petition to bring them into play ought to be high enough to insure that these weapons will be used in this way only. Experience would seem to show that a requirement of 30 per cent. of the registered voters would insure that the weapons would not be lightly used. Most commission charters are defective in that they make this requirement too low.

So far we have been considering the desirable features usually found in commission city charters. We must now take up a consideration of some of the shortcomings of this new plan. Of course it will not be possible to enter here upon a consideration of all the improvements in government which municipal science has shown to be desirable in every city, no matter what its form of government, such for instance as improved accounting, records and budget procedure, civil service merit provisions, preferential ballot and safeguards covering bond issues and the granting of public utility franchises. These matters are all discussed by the author in another connection.* It is sufficient to point out here that commission-governed cities have

**Applied City Government*, published by Harper & Bros., New York, 1914.

not as a rule shown any marked improvement in these directions over the old form of city government.

But not every feature of commission government can be regarded in the same favorable light as those just considered. There are at least two points to be noted in which commission government is distinctively defective. The first one is to be found in the manner of choosing the heads of administrative departments. Commissioners are elected as representatives of the people and at the same time as directors of administrative departments. Now popular election is of course the only way in which representatives, that is men charged with the duty of determining legislative policies, can be chosen in a popular government. But the fallacy of attempting to choose men by popular vote for positions that require professional training, skill and experience is one of the lessons that even the last century was beginning to learn. Such positions can be filled properly in only one way, namely, by appointment, and in going back to the system of electing administrative officers commission government took a distinct step backward as compared with the best and the growing practice of the previous period of municipal development.

It may, of course, be answered that this defect in commission government could be cured by considering the commissioners as mere supervisory heads of departments and providing under them expert heads for the actual administration. But the trouble with this remedy is that in the smaller cities at any rate, say those of 100,000 or less (and these constitute the very great majority of commission cities) there is no need for two distinct heads for the departments. Commissioners are always given a remuneration and in a large and growing number of commission cities are expected to devote their entire time to the work of their department, which work consists almost wholly of administrative details. An expert professional head for the department becomes an unwarranted expense, therefore, which smaller cities will not assume. The only remedy would seem to be to make the elected department head an honorary officer and to use the salaries now paid to commis-

sioners toward securing really expert administrators responsible to them.

There is another very important aspect in which commission government is defective, and in which also it is inferior even to the better city government of the old mayor-and-council form, and this defectiveness and inferiority lie also in the organization of the administration. We have seen that there was a marked tendency at the close of the last century to concentrate in the hands of the mayor all the administrative powers of the city by giving him the right of appointment and removal and making him the responsible executive. This development was entirely in accord with the fundamental principles of public administration which demand administrative concentration and centralization in place of the former customary division of power and diffusion of responsibility between the mayor and a number of elective administrative authorities, or prior to that between the mayor and the council.

Commission government, on the other hand, developed the principle that each of the commissioners should be the head of a department of administration and individually responsible for that department. Theoretically it is true the commission as a whole is responsible for the administrative as well as the legislative side, but in popular imagination and in actual practice each commissioner is an independent administrative head and his is the real responsibility for the effectiveness of his department. Manifestly this makes a five-headed executive for the city as a whole, and one would expect the inconveniences that inevitably result from a diffusion of executive powers to make themselves felt under such an arrangement. It is a curious fact that while advocates of commission government have stressed the analogy between corporate organization with its board of directors and commission government with its commission of five, they have failed to notice the lack of any officer in the city corresponding to the most important factor in corporate management, the president or manager.

In point of practice the results of this administrative diffusion in commission cities have not been slow in making them-

selves felt. The work of administration in a city is of such a nature that it cannot be absolutely divided into separate departments. No matter what distribution of functions is made there will inevitably be intersecting spheres of activity among all the departments. To avoid friction, working at cross purposes, duplication and waste there must be some means of compelling co-operation in such matters among the departments. Voluntary co-operation cannot be relied on to solve these difficult problems, for under the scheme of individual responsibility for departments each commissioner is inevitably primarily interested in having his department make a good showing and give satisfaction. His re-election depends not on how helpful he proves to his colleagues in co-operating with them in matters that lie on the border line between their departments, but on the creation of the impression that his department at least is efficiently managed. Perhaps he may even profit personally by hindering the smoothest possible working of the other departments, if he can do so in a negative way. It would be easy to find instances in every commission city of delay, duplication and waste due to this lack of centralized administrative power. Mayors in some commission cities are already advocating the concentration of more power in the hands of the mayor in order to overcome this unfortunate condition.

It would seem, then, that the prime defects of commission government are on the administrative side, namely, ignoring the need of administrative experts and the lack of concentration of administrative power. If these two important defects could be remedied while at the same time the recognized advantages of the commission form were retained, we should have a form of government which would be distinctly better than anything we have so far tried in this country. It is time now to take up the consideration of the newest municipal development in this country, the city-manager plan, and to see how it is related to the municipal developments we have considered above.

III. THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN

The first instance of the use of the term "manager" in connection with municipal administration in this country seems to have been in an ordinance of the city council of Staunton, Virginia, early in 1908. That city had been desirous of introducing greater efficiency into its government and was looking, as were scores of other cities at the time, to commission government as a means of improvement. Owing to constitutional inhibitions, however, it was not possible to adopt the commission form of government in Virginia at that time, and so the city did what was considered the next best thing. It provided by ordinance for a general manager in connection with the old mayor and council form of government. As this plan has since been followed by a number of other cities, usually for the same reason, viz., the inability to adopt commission government, it is well to consider for a moment this original form of the city-manager government.

The first thing to be noted with regard to the Staunton plan is that it lacks the advantages which we have seen to be connected with the commission form. It is, indeed, distinctly inferior to that form in many respects and is not to be recommended in preference thereto, though it does emphasize the two features which commission government lacks, namely, the expert element in municipal administration, and the principle of concentration of administrative powers. But the plan of a general manager for the business side of city government is unquestionably a desirable innovation in city government even under the old mayor-and-council form. We may say, therefore, that for cities which are unable to adopt the commission features which have been discussed above, the Staunton plan is

worthy of adoption. But for cities that are free to reorganize their framework of government, the first change should be the incorporation of the desirable features of commission government.

It is evident from what has just been said that a combination of the good features of commission government with the idea of a single administrative chief or manager would be preferable to either of the features alone. The first practical attempt to effect such a combination appears to have been made by the Chamber of Commerce of Lockport, New York, in 1911, when it caused to be submitted to the legislature of that State a bill permitting cities of the third class to adopt a form of government combining with a commission of the usual type a city manager appointed by it to take charge of the administration of the city. This bill, however, was defeated, so the plan could not then and there be put into operation.

The first city actually to put the plan of combined commission and city-manager features into operation was apparently Sumter, S. C., in 1912. Sumter is for that reason frequently spoken of as the place of origin of the city manager plan, as Galveston is known as the place of origin of the commission plan. But it must be remembered that it was Staunton that first applied the idea of a manager feature for cities and may therefore properly claim to have originated the city-manager movement. It is possible to distinguish between the Staunton plan and the Sumter plan by calling the first the general manager plan and the second the commission-manager plan, which would sufficiently indicate the principal point of difference. As we have already seen that the commission idea with the manager idea is a better combination than the old mayor-and-council with a manager feature we shall hereafter speak of the *commission-manager plan* to designate what is generally called the city-manager plan, and to exclude from our consideration the Staunton plan and its followers.

We have now proceeded far enough to answer the query which is the title of this writing, *What is the City-Manager Plan?* Only now in a changed form in accordance with the

ideas developed above, the query will be, What is the Commission-Manager Plan?

The commission-manager plan is a form of government which combines the ideas of a small representative body, elected at large on a nonpartisan ballot, possessing all ultimate legal powers of the city, and subject to certain important checks in the hands of the electorate, with concentration of administrative power into a single individual chosen by the representative body because of expert professional qualifications. Such a plan it is seen adopts the valuable features of commission government and remedies the two fundamental defects of that form. Such in bold outline is the commission-manager plan of city government.

It is not possible here to show how these features should actually be embodied in a city charter.* But it is necessary to point out that in connection with the city-manager plan there should be adopted various improved governmental devices which have been too long neglected in all city governments in this country whatever their form, mayor-and-council, or commission. In fact they become especially important in connection with the commission-manager form as it stresses above all else efficiency in administration. The two most important of these all but universally neglected features are the adoption of proper civil service merit rules and regulations for the administrative personnel of the city, and provisions for the proper management of the city's finances.

In the commission-manager plan the commission chooses and dismisses the manager, and he selects, controls, and removes the rest of the administrative force of the city. To do this effectively he must have large powers, but to give him unlimited powers would be to put in his hands without check the enormous patronage of the city. The temptation to abuse the power of patronage has been one of the most irresistible of temptations to politicians in this country and the resulting evils

*For a brief yet comprehensive presentation of the manner in which the commission-manager plan should be provided in a model charter, see James, Herman G., *Applied City Government*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1914.

have been among the worst of the many that have afflicted our city governments. To guard against the perpetuation and even exaggeration of these evils in the new form of government it is absolutely necessary that civil service merit rules governing the whole matter of appointments and removals and administrative control be regulated by law, and administered by an independent authority.

Of equal importance for the attainment of maximum efficiency in the administration of the business affairs of the city are proper provisions for the management of the finances. Accurate, intelligible reports and accounts, and a scientific budget procedure are indispensable to proper management. The charter of a city should require that the manager have proper systems of accounting and reporting installed and enforced and that the budget making should be scientific and subjected to the light of publicity at every stage. Such provisions will make it possible for the manager to insure the greatest efficiency and at the same time safeguard the public interest where it is most vitally affected, namely, in the treatment of the city's revenues and expenditures.

Of the utmost importance in connection with the application of this plan of government is the character of man who is chosen for the place of city manager. The proper man for so important a place is one who has not merely executive ability of the highest sort and technical training in some profession touching municipal affairs, but a man who has a broad outlook on the larger problem of municipal government as a result of training, experience and reflection, as well. It is true that a large number of the cities which have so far adopted the plan have chosen as manager an engineer. But it is not to be inferred therefore that engineers are peculiarly endowed with the important qualities we have just mentioned. Indeed the training which engineers ordinarily get in American colleges ignores almost completely those very subjects which would give to the prospective city manager a knowledge of and sympathy with the large problems of municipal administration. There is merely a financial advantage in having an engineer for city manager in small cities where the manager could at the same time

attend in person to the duties of city engineer and so save the salary of a special engineer. But wherever the general supervisory duties of the manager are onerous enough to keep him occupied without assuming immediate charge of any one department, this advantage disappears and there is no reason for giving preference in the choice of a manager to engineers merely because of their profession.

Finally it may be proper to add a word of warning with regard to the city-manager plan. The most usual criticism which is made of the plan, namely, that it is undemocratic and productive of one man power is of course utterly without foundation as long as the manager is chosen by, wholly responsible to and at any time removable by the elective representatives of the people. But there is a danger that overemphasis of the merits of the plan may lead the people to forget that no plan of government is so perfect that it can be left to run itself. Intelligent citizen interest, participation, and supervision are just as important for the commission-manager plan as for any other. If the commission elected by the people is continually kept at the highest level of honesty and dedication to the public welfare, the commission-manager plan is fraught with the greatest promise for American city government. If, however, indifference take hold of the electorate and an unworthy commission be permitted to exercise the powers of government, then the commission-manager plan will be no better than any other that might be mentioned; in fact it is conceivable that it might even be worse. The true formula, therefore, is not commission-manager plan minus public interest, which is sure to equal inefficiency and corruption, the same as would result with any other form, but commission-manager form plus intelligent citizen participation, which will equal the maximum of efficiency attainable in any city government.

APPENDIX I

CITIES OPERATING UNDER COMMISSION-MANAGER AND CITY-MANAGER FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

The following list was compiled by the Bureau of Municipal Research and Reference of the University of Texas, with the advice and assistance of the National Short Ballot Organization, the American City Bureau, and President O. E. Carr of the City Managers' Association. It is believed to be complete and correct, so far as is possible with this kind of data, to January 1, 1917. Attempt has been made to divide the list into two sections, the first containing the cities that have truly commission-manager government, and the second, those in which the form is modified. For this purpose the classification of the National Short Ballot Organization has in general been followed. The author will appreciate word of any error or omission. Populations are 1910 census figures.

COMMISSION-MANAGER CITIES.

City	Population	Manager	Salary
<i>Arizona</i>			
Phoenix	11,134	Robert A. Craig	\$5,000
<i>California</i>			
Bakersfield	12,727	Wallace M. Morgan	3,000
San Jose	28,946	Thomas H. Reed.....	6,000
Santa Barbara	11,659		
<i>Colorado</i>			
Durango	4,686	A. F. Hood.....	
Montrose	3,252	J. E. McDaniel.....	1,800

City	Population	Manager	Salary
<i>Florida</i>			
Lakeland	3,719	(Operation apparently temporarily suspended)	
St. Augustine	5,494	W. L. Miller.....	\$
<i>Iowa</i>			
Webster City	5,208	H. G. Vollmer.....	
<i>Michigan</i>			
Albion	5,833	(Vacant)	
Alpena	12,706	Harrison G. Roby.....	2,500
Big Rapids	4,519	Walter Willits	1,200
Cadillac	8,375	T. V. Stephens.....	2,500
Grand Rapids	112,571	(Effective July 1, 1917)	
Jackson	31,433	Gaylord C. Cummin.....	6,000
Manistee	12,381	Chas. E. Ruger.....	2,000
Petoskey	4,778	(Vacant)	
<i>New York</i>			
Newburgh	27,805	Dr. Henry Wilson.....	4,000
Niagara Falls	30,445	Ossian E. Carr.....	5,000
Watertown	26,750	(Effective Jan. 1, 1918)	
<i>North Carolina</i>			
Elizabeth City	8,412	J. C. Commander.....	
Hickory	3,706	J. W. Ballew	1,500
Morganton	2,712	C. T. Cain.....	1,200
<i>Ohio</i>			
Ashtabula	18,266	J. Warren Prine.....	2,500
Dayton	116,577	Henry M. Waite.....	12,500
East Cleveland	9,179	(Effective January, 1918)	
Sandusky	19,989	Kenneth B. Ward.....	3,600
Springfield	46,921	Chas. E. Ashburner.....	6,000
Westerville	1,903	Ray S. Blinn.....	1,500
<i>Oklahoma</i>			
Collinsville	1,324	F. A. Wright.....	1,500
<i>Oregon</i>			
La Grande	4,843	Frederick J. Lafky.....	2,400
<i>South Carolina</i>			
Beaufort	2,486	Harrison Gray Otis.....	2,400
Sumter	8,109	S. E. Shuler.....	2,400
<i>Texas</i>			
Amarillo	9,957	M. H. Hardin.....	2,400
Brownsville	10,517	F. H. Williams.....	3,000
Denton	4,732	Sam C. Gary.....	
San Angelo	10,321	E. L. Wells, Jr.....	2,500
Sherman	12,412	O. J. S. Ellingson.....	2,400
Taylor	5,314	W. E. Dozier.....	2,600
Tyler	10,400	Clay Hight	3,000
Yoakum	4,657	W. Lander	2,100

City	Population	Manager	Salary
<i>Virginia</i>			
Portsmouth	33,190	T. B. Shertzer	\$ 4,000

<i>West Virginia</i>			
Wheeling	41,641	(Effective July, 1917)	

OTHER CITIES HAVING MODIFIED MANAGERIAL GOVERNMENT

<i>Arizona</i>			
Tucson	13,193	C. K. Clarke.....	\$

<i>Arkansas</i>			
Bentonville	1,956	Edgar Masoner	

<i>California</i>			
Alhambra	5,021	Chas. F. Hewes.....	
Glendale	2,746	T. W. Watson.....	2,400
Holtville	729	(Vacant)	
Huntington Beach	815	Geo. W. Spencer.....	2,400
San Diego	39,578	Fred M. Lockwood.....	6,000
San Rafael	5,934	F. J. Boland.....	2,400

<i>Florida</i>			
Largo	291	G. J. Perkins.....	720

<i>Illinois</i>			
Glencoe	1,899	H. H. Sherer.....	2,400
Winnetka	3,168	R. L. Fitzgerald.....	2,400

<i>Iowa</i>			
Bloomfield	2,028	R. C. Bristow.....	680
Clarinda	3,832	T. A. Wilson.....	1,700
Iowa Falls	2,797	E. L. Marriage.....	1,500

<i>Kansas</i>			
Mulberry	997	J. N. Marion.....	

<i>Kentucky</i>			
Cynthiana	3,603	Daniel Durbin	900

<i>Massachusetts</i>			
Norwood	8,014	Clarence A. Bingham.....	3,000

<i>Michigan</i>			
Eaton Rapids	2,094	Fred Moore	
Grand Haven	5,856	I. R. Ellison.....	1,800

<i>Minnesota</i>			
Morris	1,685	S. A. Siverts	1,600

<i>Montana</i>			
Glasgow	1,158	S. C. Moore.....	

<i>New Mexico</i>			
Roswell	6,172	W. M. Atkinson.....	1,800

City	Population	Manager	Salary
<i>New York</i>			
Sherrill		Chester A. Brown.....	\$
<i>North Carolina</i>			
Tarboro	4,129	J. H. Jacocks.....	1,500
Thomasville		Frank D. Jones.....	
<i>Pennsylvania</i>			
Grove City	3,674		
Titusville	8,533	Herbert A. Holstein.....	2,100
<i>South Carolina</i>			
Rock Hill	7,216	J. G. Barnwell	2,400
<i>South Dakota</i>			
Clark	1,220	J. E. Smith	960
<i>Tennessee</i>			
Johnson City	8,502	P. F. McDonald.....	1,500
<i>Texas</i>			
Brownwood	6,967	W. E. Dickerson.....	
Teague	3,288	E. B. St. Clair.....	1,200
Terrell	7,050		
<i>Virginia</i>			
Charlottesville	6,765	H. A. Stecker.....	
Fredericksburg	5,874	R. Stuart Royer.....	
Graham	1,917	P. C. Nowlin.....	
Staunton	10,604	S. D. Holsinger.....	2,500
Winchester	5,864	Arthur M. Field.....	2,000
<i>West Virginia</i>			
Charleston	22,996	B. A. Wise.....	
Williamson	3,561	O. H. Booton.....	

APPENDIX II

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The following list of reading references makes no attempt to include all that has been published about the city-manager plan. It includes principally those articles that have been published in the general municipal periodicals, the *National Municipal Review* and *The American City*, whose pages may be regarded as the best source of accurate information regarding the plan. Many interesting items of a briefer or more popular nature have appeared in the popular magazines, the reviews, the engineering journals, etc. The reader is referred to the recent files (1912 to date) of *Collier's Weekly*, *California Outlook*, *Literary Digest*, *Independent*, *Nation*, *Outlook*, *Review of Reviews*, *Engineering and Contracting*, *Engineering News*, *Engineering Record*, *Municipal Engineering*, *Municipal Journal* (and the annual *Municipal Index* published by the *Municipal Journal*), *Municipal World*, *Equity*, and the publications of the several state leagues of municipalities, notably *American Municipalities*, *Pacific Municipalities* and *Texas Municipalities*. The *Readers' Guide* and the bulletins of the Public Affairs Information Service are useful in this connection.

The *Short Ballot Bulletin* (published by the National Short Ballot Organization, 383 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.) is full of good material and is to be watched for the progress of the plan.

The *Proceedings* of the annual conventions of the City Managers' Association are obtainable at a trifling cost from the secretary of the association or through *The American City*, 87 Nassau Street, New York. Printed official reports of cities

operating under the plan are becoming available in increasing number. The annual reports of the Dayton commission (apply to Dayton Bureau of Municipal Research, 613 Schwind Building, Dayton, O.), and those of City Manager H. G. Otis, of Beaufort, S. C., are especially worth examining.

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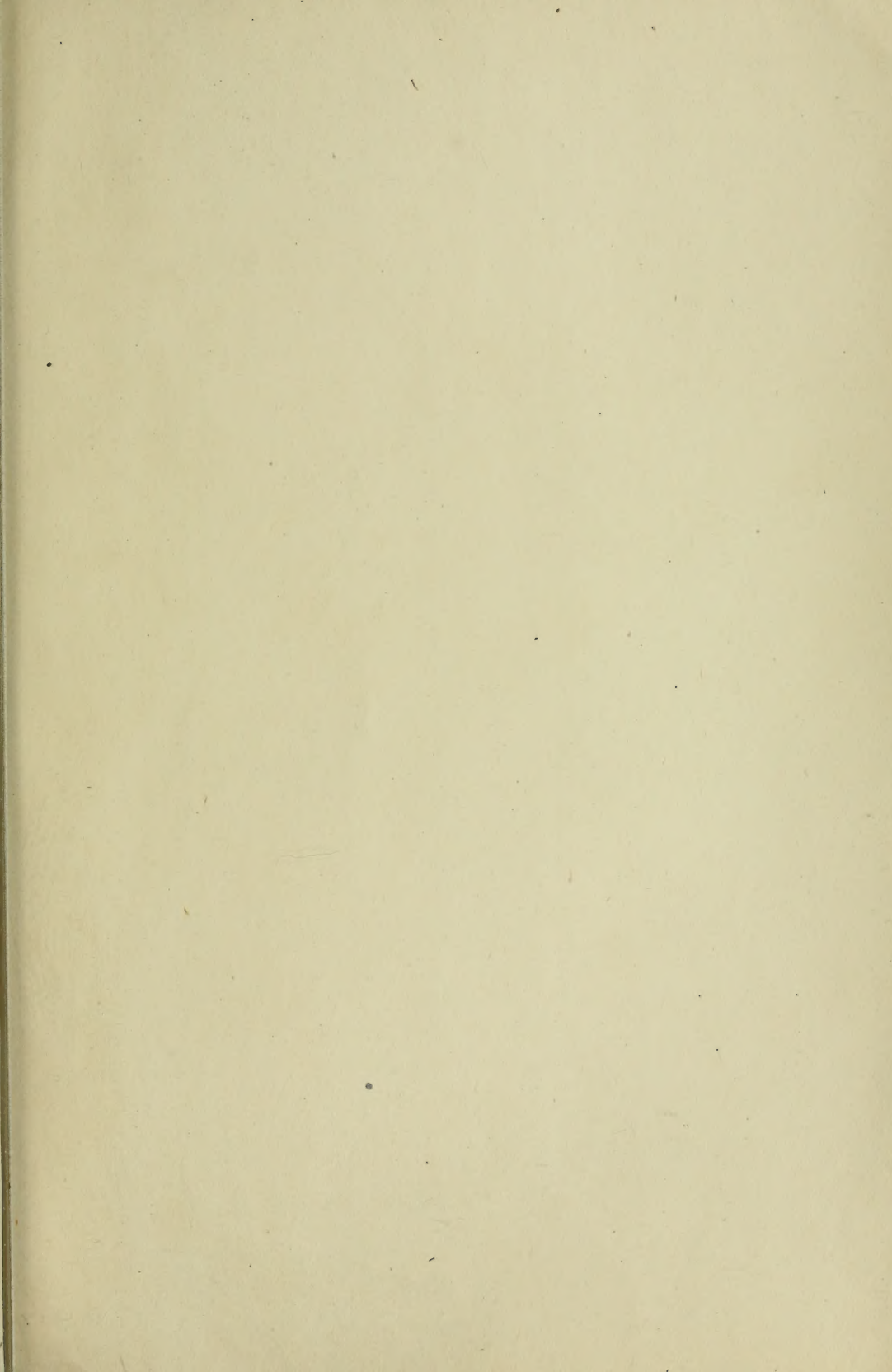
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